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Alsop's fables

By Cedric Belfrage

PERHAPS in honor of the anniversary of Stalingrad, where a vast human sacrifice of Russians saved the world from Buchenwald fascism nine years ago, the magic mountain of anti-Soviet propaganda was swollen by two novelties last week.

One was an almost casual reference by the Alsop brothers to an occasion "at the end of the Second World War" when "nearly 1,000" Russians being repatriated from German imprisonment "flung themselves from the window of their train into the gorge beneath." Next day the same story, "to which the Alsop brothers have just called attention," was taken up by Walter Lippmann. Impressed by "the high degree of discipline and training of the people involved" and "the silence of all eyewitnesses to this spectacular scene for some six years," an inquiring Washington reporter for the N. Y. **Compass** found that (a) no one in the State Dept. had ever heard of the incident, and (b) one of the Alsops denied all knowledge of it. The other Alsop said he got the story from "someone in Austria" two years ago, but recalled on second thought that the number involved was "nearer 100 than 1,000." He said he knew of no officials who could give more information.

LITVINOV'S "GHOST": The other item was a series of five articles syndicated in a number of papers by Richard C. Hottelet, CBS Moscow correspondent in 1946, purporting to be an interview in that year with former Soviet Foreign Minister and ambassador Litvinov. The Washington **Post's** headline on the first article was: SOVIET UNION CAN'T BE TRUSTED OR APPEASED, DIPLOMAT LITVINOV WARNED WESTERN WORLD. Direct quotes ascribed to Litvinov, scattered thinly through the series, contained no such statement; the quotes were either basically unbelievable according to close friends of the diplomat here, or were normal and innocuous and interpreted by Hottelet with flights of lurid imagination. From the basic and well-known fact that Litvinov was sickened by the post-war renewal of Western hostility toward socialism just when his lifetime of work for mediation might have borne fruit, Hottelet drew the picture of Litvinov putting all blame on Moscow.

The diplomat was presented as selecting Hottelet, whom he never knew, as the vehicle for "a political testament to the western world." In article 2 Hottelet

> . . . took it for granted that [Litvinov's] office was fully wired for sound, and that the secret police was recording the whole dialogue. . . . [Later,] I braced myself for the news that Litvinov had died suddenly or been killed in an accident . . . yet the old man apparently died a natural death 5½ years later.

Hottelet's explanation:

> Either his office had not been wired or the dictaphone had broken down.

JOURNALISTS ON HORSEBACK: The interview as described was replete with pulmonary and secretory melodrama:

> I perspired freely. . . . He breathed noisily. . . . I gulped. . . . He breathed heavily. . . . Litvinov answered slowly, breathing heavily. . . . Several times my hair stood on end. . . . He breathed asthmatically. . . . I half expected to be arrested. . . . His heavy breathing indicated nervousness and emotion.

Commented Arthur Upham Pope, chancellor of the Asia Institute in New York, biographer of Litvinov who had three meetings with him in Moscow just a year before Hottelet:

> "The description of Litvinov's office is accurate, indicating Hottelet did have an interview with him. Most of the articles consist of wind; let it all out and the whole thing could be told in 600 words or less. People are getting bored with this sort of stuff. The papers are really overdoing it. Personally I am sick to death of these self-dramatizing young newspapermen who want to be world figures, to mount the hobby-horse of history and ride furiously off in all directions."

HAVE YOU RENEWED?
SEE PAGE 2

It was a great day in New Mexico

They were celebrating last week in the copper mining towns around Bayard, N. M. The Empire Zinc strikers had won a smacking victory after 15 months of back-breaking and bloody struggle. And it was the women, like those shown above, wives, mothers and daughters of the strikers, who deserve a major share of the credit. They held the line in the face of gas, guns and wild automobile charges. **For full story, see p. 5.**

WAR & PEACE

Washington faces a choice: Retreat or World War III

BY LAST WEEK the Korean "police action" had already lasted longer than U. S. participation in World War I; Washington, having shouldered the "white man's burden," faced throughout the Far East the choice of retreat or major war. In this setting another confused "Great Debate" began.

Like last year's, it inadvertently revealed the hollowness of the "Soviet aggression threat" by which Washington justifies its cold- and hot-war policy. Atlantic Alliance boss W. Averell Harriman (**NBC**, Jan. 27) said Stalin had no intention of involving the U.S.S.R. in a "big war." Herbert Hoover, urging the recall of U. S. land troops from Europe, cited eight reasons why conservative Europeans disbelieve the "Soviet aggression threat." He said:

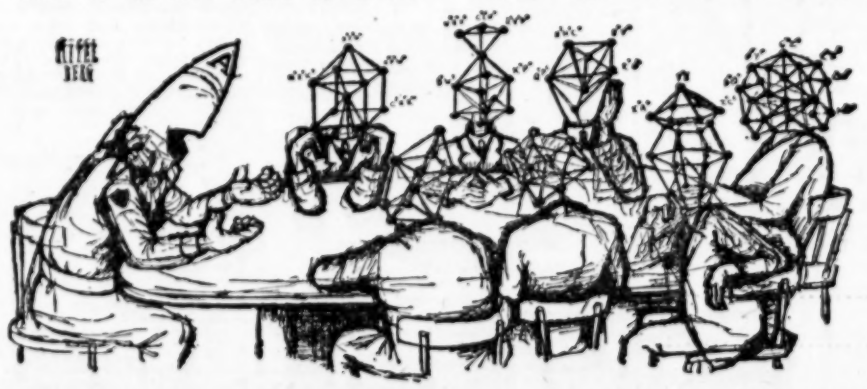
> "There is in Europe today no such public alarm as has been fanned up in the U. S. . . . They do not propagandize war fears or war psychosis such as we get out of Washington. Not one European country conducts such exercises in protection from bombs as we have had in New York."

CRIES OF WOE: Deputy Asst. Secy. of State Sargeant suggested that "free peoples" fear not Soviet but U. S. policy as one that "may lead to war," believe it masks an "American urge to expand." **U. S. News** (Feb. 1) said:

> Russia, winning the cold war, is not going to start a fight with the U. S. U. S., arming against Russia, may end up with nobody to fight.

Walter Lippmann (Jan. 31), noting the "increasingly unmanageable" troubles in our foreign relations, asked if U. S. policy is not based on a false

> . . . set of estimates and predictions—[the] hypothesis [of] overt military aggression. . . . To have boiling trouble without the Russians or Chinese committing open aggression seems to have caught Mr. Acheson short, not only of policy, but even of a ringing declaration.



Action, Paris

"The question before the meeting is how we can defend our humanistic civilization against robots."

The **Wall St. Journal** (Jan. 30) warned "there are foreign problems which cannot be met by a military solution." Arizona **Daily Star** editor W. R. Matthews called the $85 billion war budget "a triumph for the War Hawks." The Los Angeles **Times** (Jan. 24) found the real danger in "economic catastrophe," said: "It is Communist doctrine to avoid war and let the bourgeois enemy destroy himself."

Popular anti-war sentiment was becoming a political factor. While the Alsop brothers (Feb. 3) despaired because "despite blunt warnings . . . the country simply cannot be brought to believe in the reality of danger," Sen. Taft renewed his attacks on "President Truman's war."

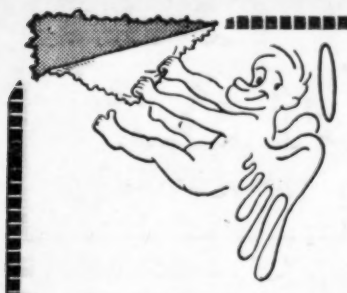
KOREAN DILEMMAS: True to form, the Great Debaters offered no real alternatives. All were committed to the war policy; debate over methods reflected its failures and miscalculations. But Henry Ford II told **U. S. News** (Jan. 25):

> "There are two obvious places we could go. One is to war. The other is broke. There must be another alternative. There must be some way to learn to live with Russia."

Committed to rejecting any such alternative, U. S. policy faced sharpening dilemmas especially in the stalemated Korean War. Hanson Baldwin (N. Y. **Times**, Jan. 23) outlined them from Washington's point of view:

- The military unanimously want to apply "more military pressure," but if they do "our allies may drag their feet . . . we shall be put in the position of ending the defacto 'take it easy' period and perhaps of ending the truce talks. We shall be labelled 'aggressors' and there will be many who believe the label."
- A ground offensive might not be successful unless "additional forces" were sent—"something we want to avoid," involving more casualties, undesirable in an election year.
- If the stalemate continues, "public sentiment in the U. S., which has shifted very materially in the past year, will eventually demand that 'we get out of Korea.'" But if we do, we lose "our en-

(Continued on Page 3)



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- ☐ Charming gift box of three colorfully embroidered girls' handkerchiefs.

THE MAIL BAG

The telltale cat

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

I am yet howling over the letter that stated anybody can be President, and is. At first, on reading it, I felt there was a chance for me but, alas, I'm no mink coat girl. Some unfortunate cats lost their lives when my coat was produced.

W. P. C.

Douglas, he says

DETROIT, MICH.

I read an article in the N.Y. Times, Sunday, Jan. 13, by Justice Douglas. It was a biting and satiric outburst against our present political and economic turmoil. I believe all progressives and liberals should unite and try campaigning for Mr. Douglas if he consents to be the banner bearer of the Progressive Party for President.

A Detroit reader

Robeson's the man

NEW YORK, N.Y.

This is in reply to the letters of J. N. McCullough and Israel Pozna in the Jan. 16 GUARDIAN. Mr. Pozna eliminates as possible Presidential candidates such progressives as Marcantonio, DuBois, Robeson, Benson with "the American people are not yet ready for such leadership." In his desire for a "strong" candidate, he is ready to nominate John L. Lewis, "although he has done his share of red-baiting!"

J. N. McCullough is ready to be "compelled" into nominating Justice Douglas "with an established record and national popularity." Further, he shows willingness to barter away basic principles in his statement that "we should not antagonize national prejudices even if they're stupid!"

It seems to me that the sentiments are sad evidence of lack of clarity, of fear and weakness among the progressives—serious signals of danger! How can we who know the score hope to give leadership unless we are willing not only to SPEAK OUT, but to find the courage to live by DEEDS?

The major issue of our time is PEACE! And crucial to the winning of Peace is Negro-white unity. The IPP, in its West Coast Tri-State conference, pledged to "support, indorse or nominate a Negro on the national PEACE ticket, in one of the two top offices, in 1952."

Now is the time to prove that we meant that pledge! Certainly we can not afford to tail ourselves to another turn - coat - Wallace - type candidate. We need a man of tested integrity, courage and devotion; we need the very best people's champion in our land — PAUL ROBESON!

Gabriella Oppenheim

How crazy can you get dept.

In these days of political, diplomatic, and economic confusion, when the future is uncertain and unpromising for the world, our country, and all of us as individuals, it is pleasant to contemplate the future of ophthalmology.

Lead to main article in Journal of the American Medical Assn., Jan. 5.

One year's free sub to the sender of each item published under this heading. Winner: J. Seldin, Croton-on-Hudson, N.Y.

Gangway!

TUCSON, ARIZ.

Whinell can't the GI's in Korea come home and run for President too (or at the President)? GI's should have the same rights as generals. How many would stay in Korea if they had a chance to come home?

D. L. J.

Ulysses and Ike

HEMPSTEAD, L.I.

As we enter a most important campaign year, I am going to suggest an additional emphasis which many of your articles might add: reference to American history.

Speaking of generals as Presidents, I have just been reading The Tragic Era, by Claude Bowers. It has in it a story applicable to Eisenhower. I quote from p. 223:

"The nomination of Grant by one of two parties had been assured for at least two years. The Republican politicians deciding on his nomination had assigned to John W. Torrey the embarrassing task of establishing his Republicanism; and when the journalist with the aid of Rawlins submitted his five-column article launching the candidacy, Grant read it whimsically and expressed surprise to find himself so good a Republican."

In fact Grant, who was no spring chicken at this time, had only voted once before 1864, and that was a vote for Buchanan.

Ben Allen

Mostly otherwise

RICHMOND, VA.

Congratulations on your article on religion ("Spellman sees 'Jewish' plot against envoy") in the Jan. 23 GUARDIAN. Your paper would be within its rights to adopt for a slogan: "All the truth, fit or otherwise, gets into print."

P. R. S.

Fagin

BROOKLYN, N.Y.

It seems to me that most of those who defend and praise the film Oliver Twist as a masterpiece of art, while at the same time professing to be "immune to anti-Semitism," in reality are anti-Semitic.

The earth in the Nazi concentration camps in Germany is still soaked with the blood of millions of Jews, vilified by Hitler as "Fagins" and tortured and murdered by his stormtroopers. The producers of Oliver Twist took particular pains to show Fagin in this film as the vile and repulsive creature portrayed by the Nazis to justify exterminating the Jews.

From time immemorial the Fagin caricature of Jews has been used by anti-Semites to organize pogroms and murder of the Jewish people.

Charles Golosman

Wall Street Journal

"But good grief, Mr. Slade—you certainly didn't think I was getting along on the salary you paid me?"

Life in Puerto Rico

MARICAO, P.R.

We're sending for a subscription for ourselves and for two friends. One is Deusdedit Marrero, the young person now serving a sentence for such crimes as applauding at meetings and getting peace petition signatures. The trial was a farce with the government trekking in all the weapons it acquired during the Nationalist revolt without attempting to link them up with Marrero. He understands English and I am sure he would appreciate receiving mail from American progressives. His address: Arecibo Jail, Arecibo, P.R.

Richard Levins

The great "subversives"

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I was reminded by Shelley's Song to the Men of England in your Jan. 9 issue of an idea I've had for ages. How about printing James Whitcomb Riley's anti-imperialist poem on the Mexican War (which Lincoln also opposed) and, in addition, something about Mozart's daring to make an opera of Beaumarchais' Marriage of Figaro, and Beethoven's and Goethe's Egmont. All in the fight for freedom this work was done. The great "names" that students are taught as culture were the "subversives" of their day.

Dody Hannah

For the Rosenbergs

ONTARIO, CALIF.

I am enclosing $5 to help that lovely young couple, the Rosenbergs. I am so glad to hear in your fine paper that a newspaperman in far Australia is interested in helping them. I've been a schoolteacher and social worker for many years and I've never met or read of anyone that I regarded with more respect and sincere friendship than those admirable young parents.

G. C. Bates

Henry II speaks out

NASSAU, BAHAMAS

If you want to start a "How much straighter can you talk dept.," here's an opening item—from the mimeo'd radio news bulletin distributed to cruise passengers on S.S. Nassau, Jan. 22:

"Henry Ford II said defense contracts never will take up the production slack in the auto industry and predicted that nearly 200,000 auto workers will be idle by spring in the Detroit area alone. Ford said his firm will not get into a large scale defense production until the summer of 1953, and questioned whether it is not silly to cut back civilian production when there is a lot of unused imperialism."

Bill & Betty Hays

A fine idea!

CHICAGO, ILL.

Enclosed find my check for $10. Please distribute it as follows: $6 for the GUARDIAN's sustaining fund and $4 for two more subs to be sent to me so that I can remail them to progressive friends who want the news found only in the GUARDIAN, but who are intimidated by the current official hysteria from becoming "mailing-list subversives," thus endangering such inalienable American rights as scientific research and passport privilege.

C. V. H.

Never underestimate . . .

NEW YORK, N.Y.

As a feminist I must protest the claim of the male sex to leadership in the how-crazy-can-you-get competition among Western "intellectuals." Get a load of this by Barbara Ward, "the brain" of Britain, in the N.Y. Times magazine Jan. 27:

"Few great ventures have been conducted with the tact and consideration displayed in the Marshall Plan, and no great nation has ever been less inclined to impose its own imperial control. It is also true that the British Commonwealth has proved one of the least arrogant empires in history."

With such cerebral titans to shape our "ideology," how can the West fail?

Anti-chauvinist

Preach it in Wall St.

TOWNSEND, TENN.

The Hollidays are over. Thair was no Xmas tree in my house. The Boy that use to put them up for me his Bodie is laying in a frozen Bloody hole some Whair in Korea.

If our leaders would have practise all the Good things they talket about through Xmas times my Home & thousands of other homes would have been sparkling with Xmas cheer & Good Will to the Peopels Every Whair. As I listen to the minersters Preaching over the air I wonder how many Radioes in Wall St. is turned on. I want all War mothers to Plead with thair minersters to go & Preach Christ whair the love of Christ is neaded, to our leaders that have the Power & money, that hold the Keys of Life & Death in thair hands. Dont forget to take your tex in the Book of James the 5 chapter verse 1 to 7.

Dora Tipton

The letter "A"

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

There's a billboard at a busy intersection in Los Angeles that reads:

"Be thankful you live in the U.S. — 71% of the world's automobiles."

Since we recently "celebrated" our one millionth traffic fatality, perhaps it should be reworded:

"Be thankful you're alive in the U.S."

Luba Ellen

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REPORT TO READERS

About pickled nutmeg on chocolate doughnuts

YOU MAY BE INTERESTED to know whether our new back-to-back addressing and renewal scheme is bringing in returns—now that we've brought the matter up forward from the caboose end of the paper.

It is too early for statistics, of course, but one thing we can report on is the engaging gang of characters we have discovered deadheading in the gondola cars or riding the rods since somewhere back last summer.

ONE SUCH—obviously an old Greenwich Village Wobbly by his fluency and literary style—offered up a counter-thrust of the sort that has undoubtedly bent the ears of railway detectives since the Iron Horse was a yearling.

"Sirrah, I bite my thumb at you," he declaimed, like an ancient Shakespearean sparring for time. "Us Public is in the habit, sir, of receiving bills—one of the few truly punctilious services we receive, alas, all too often!"

From there he proceeded to accuse us of having a private oil well as our only conceivable substitute for not sending out monthly bills and offered "a Jar of Pickled Nutmeg to go with Anchovies on Chocolate Doughnuts" if every other subscriber in arrears didn't agree with him.

He concluded, however, by shucking out $8 for a two-year extension and two new subscriptions.

SO—as we say—the idea of moving the addressing and the renewal problem forward to the head end of the paper is bringing in results even if burdened at times with a few thousand well chosen words.

On the matter of billings, promotion mailings, etc., there is no doubt that our fine-feathered correspondent from Greenwich Village has a point. But with us it's always a question of how to spend hard-earned pennies rather than unearned increments. And more often than not the decision has to be to spend the money printing the next issue of the paper instead of sending out a mailing to a bunch of galoots who can read between the lines of the daily press like experts, but who suffer chronic aphasia when it comes to catching the meaning of their own address nameplate with a date on it months behind the calendar—in their own paper. And that's some sentence!

NOW TAKE A LOOK OUT THERE on Page One and see when your subscription is (or was) due for renewal. If it's due or overdue, the wherewithal for following through is all on this page, including at least $2 worth of the best letters in America.

John T. McManus

Washington's choice: Retreat or big war

(Continued from Page 1)

tire investment" and communism will win all Asia.

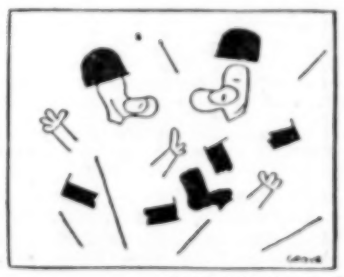
TOP VACILLATIONS: Faced with these dilemmas, Washington, said the **Wall St. Journal** (Feb. 2), has decided to continue truce talks for "another 30 days more or less." The President's "top advisers" are agreed to "carry the war to China" if the Chinese "begin an all-out air-ground campaign again"; but "so far they can't agree on what to do if the Chinese Reds just sit tight on the present battle line." No one wants to get involved in a land war in China; but those seeking a real showdown

> . . . don't explain what the U. S. would do if . . . the Red Chinese whipped the Nationalists and shoved them back to the sea. . . .

Reporting Washington's decision on a "tough" policy toward China, David Lawrence (N.Y. **Herald Tribune**, Jan. 31) complained that

> . . . with an election campaign in the offing, policy decisions of a firmer nature are not implemented by action and there seems to be a vacillation which allows the whole situation to deteriorate from day to day. . . . A crisis of some kind [will be needed] to force the issue.

WINSTON STARTS A FIRE: Contributing to Washington's trials in implementing its "tough" policy was the British storm of protest over Churchill's alignment of British with U.S. policy in the Far East, which forced a denial to Parliament that he had made any "new" or "formal" commitments to bomb China and extend the war. Joseph Newman (**NYHT**, Jan. 31) dismissed the denial as "a quibble over words"; Churchill failed to convince his critics.



Canard Enchaine, Paris

THE INFLAMMABLE SWEATER

"It seems the Russians don't have it yet!"

The Labour Party's **Daily Herald** said he speaks with "two voices—one for each side of the Atlantic." Labour MP's, who decided at a private meeting to subject him to "severe cross-examination" in this week's foreign-policy debate, might demand a specific pledge not to support any attack on China. Aneurin Bevan's left wing tabled a motion calling on the government to declare

> . . . there is no justification whatever for any extension of the war, [and to] take no further part in hostilities unless North Korea violates the cease-fire line already agreed.

Bevanite Ian Mikardo charged the U.S. had decided on war against China, that Churchill knew it and was not resisting.

U. S. embarrassments at UN

DEBATE in the UN General Assembly in Paris put another block in Washington's path. When the U.S., Britain and France warned they would demand UN action to meet "any Communist aggression in Southeast Asia," the U.S.S.R.'s Malik called the warning proof that the U.S. itself was "cooking up" fresh Far East aggressions under the pretext of defense. He charged deliberate U.S. stalling of truce talks to gain time to prepare action against Southeast Asia. Repeating Vishinsky's earlier charges that the U.S. is reinforcing and directing Chiang Kai-shek troops in Burma, he said two U.S. generals, 7 colonels, 27 majors were attached as "instructors" to these troops.

The U.S. angrily denied the charges, but Burma's delegate lent them embarrassing support, declaring that Chiang's troops were committing aggression against Burma—"killing our men, taking our food, raping our women." When Burmese troops attempt to wipe them out, "they disappear over friendly borders" (Thailand) and are getting "outside help" from "nationals of other countries." The implication of Washington was clear since Chiang is now solely dependent on U.S. support.

Declaring that these troops might be the nucleus of an army for World War III, Burma's delegate warned: "To governments of these nations I would say that these people are playing with fire." Burma would not be "a base for any attack on Communist China or any other China." A Burmese warning two days later that Burma might ask New China's help in expelling Chiang's troops threw a scare into Washington; next day, obviously yielding to U.S. pressure, the delegation said it would ask help only from UN.

CRACKING MAJORITY: The discussion came while a resolution by Chiang's delegate was being considered, finding the U.S.S.R. guilty of "failing to carry out" its 1945 friendship pact with China. To pass this resolution (9 voted against it, 24 abstained) the U.S. could get voting support only from Chiang, Iraq, Liberia, the Philippines, Thailand and Turkey, in addition to the Latin American procession. Reduction of the U.S.'s "mechanical majority" has been a notable development of the Assembly now closing:

- A Soviet resolution recommending admission of 14 new members (5 pro-Soviet, 9 pro-Western) failed of a two-thirds majority but got 22 votes to 21 with 16 abstentions.
- Over Washington's bitter opposition the Assembly passed a resolution, for which the U.S.S.R. has long battled, declaring that a legal definition of aggression is both possible and necessary. (Basis of U.S. opposition was let out of the bag by U.S. delegate Markos Jan. 10, when he said that "to ask a state to wait in order to attack may give the enemy a great tactical advantage." Robert S. Allen, Jan. 28, indicated the U.S. feared that if it landed troops in Suez, for example, it would have difficulty "avoiding being branded an 'aggressor' under UN specifications."
- The Social, Humanitarian & Cultural Committee voted 33 to 9 (10 abstentions), over U.S. opposition, to include in the Human Rights Convention the right to self-determination.
- A Yugoslav delegate, ordered to end a long anti-Soviet harangue by Assembly president Nervo, appealed to the Assembly to reverse the ruling, was voted down 40 to 1. (Nervo was reported saying he wished delegates complaining of U.S. pressure—about half those at UN—would vote the way they feel instead of complaining to him and then voting the way they were told.)

COLORED-WHITE WAR: The Assembly supported the U.S. demand to postpone discussion of Korea until after an armistice or until "other developments" made it necessary. Malik, charging that the U.S. was afraid to appear "before the bar of public opinion" because that would interfere with its war plans in the Far East, said:

> "Concrete evidence has been produced here about the Anglo-U.S. bloc's preparations for war. This Third World War has in fact begun . . . it is being waged in Korea, against China, in Malaya, Egypt, Tunisia and Morocco."

A U.S. war in Asia, said London's **New Statesman & Nation** Jan. 26, "might soon look more like a war between Coloured and White than between Communist and non-Communist peoples."

Broken W. Europe Economies

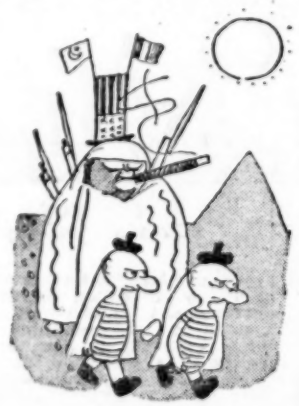
IN London last month British Commonwealth finance ministers met to try to save the sterling area, one of the last vestiges of the British Empire. Britain, spending a billion dollars more than it earned last year, was suffering a deficit not only with the dollar area but with Western Europe, and was in debt to the sterling area (750 million pounds) and particularly its colonies. London's **Sunday Times** (Jan. 6) wrote:

> So far from Britain's investing in the Colonial Empire, the Colonial Empire has been investing in Britain—not because it preferred raising our standards of life to raising its own, but because we could not, or would not, sell to the Colonial territories, to pay for the food and materials we have bought from them, enough of the capital goods and other things they need.

THE LAST STRAW: Despite Chancellor of the Exchequer Butler's boast that "we have given the sterling area a new lease of life," Commonwealth promises to cut imports and fight inflation were unlikely to be effective in a situation which the London **Economist** (Jan. 12) saw headed "toward bankruptcy for this country and the end of sterling as an international currency." (Roughly half the world's exchange transactions are financed in sterling.) The **Economist's** answer was a drastic slash in British living standards. This was also the answer of the Tories whose program to fire 10,000 civil servants, impose charges for health services, cut imports (mainly food) by another $420,000,000, slash manufactured goods for the home market was presented last week.

More important than the economic were the political consequences of the Tory program. Meeting privately after Butler's report, Labour MP's threw their support to Bevan's demand for all-out opposition to dismantling the welfare state, rejected Attlee's plea for a mild protest. Attlee's speech to Parliament was unconvincing; Bevan's, full of fire and fury, brought cheers. A newspaper commented: "A stranger would have thought Bevan, not Attlee, was leader of the Labour Party." The British press saw Bevan as having taken a long step forward to control of the party. A Gallup Poll showed the party was on its way back, with 48% supporting it, 44% for the Tories.

NEW GERMAN DEMANDS: Britain and France, fighting costly colonial wars, their economies cracking under the arms burden (France also inaugurated heavy import cuts last week in an effort to right its trade deficit with Europe), faced the power of a renascent Germany. The Bonn government, whose "industry is the most flourishing on the continent" (N.Y. **Times**, Feb. 3) and which has cut into British, French, Belgian markets throughout the world,



Daily Worker, London

"Are we being followed by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization?"

demanded as the price for its "contribution to Western defense" full Atlantic Pact partnership, return of the Saar, and removal of all limitations on arms production. (The Saar voted in 1947 for economic union with France, under World War II agreements enjoys autonomy until its future is determined in a German peace treaty.)

France's Schuman, who promised parliament in 1949 when it approved the Atlantic Pact that Germany would have no part in it, quickly protested to Washington. But Washington (N.Y. **Times**, Feb. 2) showed "acute impatience with both France and Germany" for bringing up the problems. A U.S.-British-French meeting was set in London for Feb. 13 just before the NATO Council meeting in Lisbon.

TOO LATE TO STOP? Many NATO governments feel, said the N.Y. **Times** (Jan. 31), that "failure to agree . . . could well bring NATO to an end as an effective alliance." As Bonn and Washington reports made clear that the U.S. would "accept any solution that will speed formation of West German forces" (N.Y. **Herald Tribune** Feb. 4), Britain's Eden met with Schuman and reportedly forged a common front, determined to urge the U.S. to go slow.

But the British and French governments had long since abandoned bargaining positions. As **U.S. News** reported:

> Military plans for the creation of a new German army . . . the first since Hitler's, are already set. [It] will be the biggest single element in the active forces of the NATO.

NEW YORK

More bias-fighting teachers fired in N.Y.

LAST week N.Y. City Schools Supt. Jansen announced his second batch of eight purged teachers, all suspended without pay. As in the first batch a year ago, all were school system veterans (15-25 years) with no complaint of their classroom conduct; all officers or members of the Teachers Union; all active in community work against jim-crow or anti-Semitism; all Jewish.

The only charge against them: they would not answer questions on their politics. Two of the eight did tell the Board they were not Communists, but that question proved not the end of the inquisition, only the beginning. They drew the line at questions about personal contacts, past affiliations.

During the past year ten other teachers resigned under the probe. Jansen said last week there were still more to be investigated, though his

rights of political inquisition are still under consideration by the U.S. Supreme Court, the N.Y. Supreme Court and the N.Y. Commissioner of Education. The suspended teachers are:

> MRS. MILDRED FLACKS, 1st grade teacher for 20 years; vice-pres., Bedford-Stuyvesant Neighborhood Council; secy., Bedford-Stuyvesant Schools Council; actively combating jimcrow in a Negro area.
>
> ARTHUR NEWMAN, English teacher 17 years; chairman, Better Schools Comm. for the Southeast Bronx (Negro, Puerto Rican, Jewish area); board member, Prospect Child Care Center.
>
> MRS. DOROTHY RAND, 22 years in elementary schools; active in Parent-Teachers Assn.; campaigns to improve Harlem schools.
>
> DOROTHY BLOCH, English teacher 15 years; fought case against teacher May Quinn, who was proven guilty of anti-Semitism but retained as teacher.
>
> JULES LEMANSKY, social studies teacher 17 years; unanimously elected by his school's faculty as chairman of Teacher's Interest Committee.
>
> HYMAN KOPPELMAN, Spanish teacher 25 years; actively fought jimcrow in Brooklyn.
>
> SAMUEL WALLACH, social studies teacher 18 years; vice-pres. and ex-pres., Teachers Union; ex-pres., Economics Teachers Assn.
>
> CYRIL GRAZE, math. teacher 19 years; chairman, Teachers Union Academic Freedom Comm.; led fight in May Quinn case and against racial bias in texts.

RUN ALONG, LITTLE PARENT: The Boys H.S. faculty unanimously protested Lemansky's suspension, declared him "a good friend and valued colleague." Similar support came for Koppelman from his colleagues on the Prospect Heights H.S. faculty, for Newman from the Better Schools Comm. of the Southeast Bronx. The Board of Education was to meet this Thursday to appoint a trial examiner, set a date for the hearing.

The Board tightened its hold not only on teachers but on parents. On Dec. 19, the Parents Assn. of P.S. 1, in Manhattan's lower east side, was to hear a talk by Isidore Rubin, editor of the Teachers Union **Teacher News.** When he arrived word had come that District Supt. Victor I. Burger had banned his talk. The United Parents Assn. national office called it an infringement on parent autonomy, promised to protest to Jansen. On Jan. 23 Burger called in principals, PA presidents, a UPA representative, members of local school boards, laid down these rules "to avoid future embarrassment":

- Each principal to be on the PA exec. board to help arrange programs.
- Programs and speakers to be approved by the principal and Burger or else there would be no meeting in the school.

A mother began to protest. Dr. Burger cut in:

> "This is as it is and this as as it will be. It is now 11:30 and you parents must rush off to prepare lunch for your children."

The Story of Jean Field: Case history of cold war justice

In a foreword to the pamphlet of which an abbreviated version begins below, Albert E. Kahn (author of The Great Conspiracy, High Treason) *says that in 15 years of writing about bigotry and oppression he has dealt with no case rivaling this one in sheer inhumanity. The facts he presents, based on a long personal investigation in California and Oklahoma, "seem incredible but are true," Kahn writes.*

To the GUARDIAN which has fought for justice in the vicious Trenton Six and Rosenberg cases while the "free press" was silent, little is incredible in the realm of the inhumanities in today's America. Almost equally barbaric assaults on innocent American men, women and children are crowded out of our pages every week for lack of space. But we believe the Jean Field case should be known throughout the land because it dramatizes in the simplest and clearest way the degradation to which public morality has been brought by the war hysteria—a degradation which makes possible such "legal" crimes as the death sentences against Ethel and Julius Rosenberg.

By Albert E. Kahn

SHORTLY after midnight on May 20, 1940, a man slipped furtively from a house in Chickasha, Okla., tossed some bags in a car and drove off into the darkness. One might have thought he had committed a burglary. His offense, however, was of a different sort. Hs was deserting his wife and two children, a three-year-old boy and a baby girl born three weeks before.

The man's name was Vernon Field. He left this note for his wife, Jean:

> I no longer want the responsibility of a wife and two children, so here it is in your lap. Sorry, but that's the way it is.

As if to emphasize his indifference, Field took with him the family's meager funds—even the few dollars set aside to buy groceries for the following day.

THE HARD YEARS: That October, Jean Field was granted a divorce with complete custody of her son, Jay, and her daughter Mary Kaye. Vernon was ordered to pay $30 a month toward the children's support. But months went by without his sending a single dollar from Illinois, where he had settled after being charged with signing a false name to a check in Anadarko, Okla. Finally Jean heard from him. He was in an Illinois jail on a forgery charge; he was lonely; would she please write?

The task of providing wholly for her children was not an easy one for Jean. She was none too well and had no savings. Moving to a brother's house in Tulsa, she got a clerical job there at $15 a week. She relates:

> "Monday through Saturday, I would get up at 5:30, change and feed the baby, feed my son, clean our room, then go to work. I rode the bus home—or walked, depending on whether I could spare the money—gave the baby her six o'clock bottle, helped prepare the dinner, fed my son, bathed the children, then played with or read to my son until his bedtime. After he was settled I helped with the dinner dishes, made up the baby's formula for the coming day, and every other night washed baby clothes. At 10 I again fed the baby and set the clock for her 2 a.m. feeding. Week-ends, the family wash was done. . . ."

THE PATRIOT: After a while she got a better job in Oklahoma City, where she lived temporarily with Vernon's parents, Mr. and Mrs. J. Walker Field. In the winter of 1941 Vernon's draft board in Illinois wrote that he had filed for exemption from military service on the ground he was supporting a wife and two children; verification was requested. Jean replied that not only were she and Vernon divorced, but he had contributed nothing to the children's support.

Shortly thereafter, Vernon was drafted. Once in the service, he applied for an allotment for his parents (apparently hoping they would save the money for him) and did not even mention his two dependent children until Jean wrote that unless he did she would appeal to his commanding officer.

In 1944 Jean and the children moved to California. Occasionally Mr. and Mrs. J. Walker Field came for a visit; she told them that if Vernon (who was discharged from the army in 1945) also wanted to see the children at any time, he would be welcome—but he made no effort to come. Letters the children wrote to him went unanswered.

Lessons in humanity

For the first time in many years Jean now had some moments of leisure. "While the children were in school," she recalls,

JEAN FIELD WITH JAY AND MARY KAYE
"How can one explain a situation so terribly wrong?"

> ". . . I spent considerable time reading and studying history, economics, current events and problems, social philosophy, and so on. . . . When my children came to the questioning age I did all I could not to discourage but to stimulate their questioning. No doors were closed—no questions were taboo. . . . The children's interests began spreading, going from local to national and international events. They began to notice, wonder at and dislike evidence of discrimination. We had discussions on why discrimination exists. . . ."

Above all, she taught them that freedom and equality should exist for all human beings. No matter what discriminatory laws might prevail in certain states, she told them, Negro Americans should be entitled to the same rights as other Americans.

In the spring of 1950 Jean sent Jay and Mary Kaye to Oklahoma City for a vacation visit. The grandparents had often urged this, and Vernon had unexpectedly written that he was eager to see his 13-year-old son and ten-year-old daughter. He had married again, his parents said, given up drinking and settled down. It was agreed that the children would be back in California in time for school in the fall.

DANGER—PEACE: On June 18 they went to Oklahoma City, and two weeks later Jean was talking long-distance with Jay when the boy mentioned the Korean war, asked: "What's it all about?" Jean sent the children a letter in which she said that the U.S. government was waging an unjust war of intervention, and that the Korean people were fighting for "the right to rule themselves." She wrote:

> Do not blame the American soldier. He didn't choose the war—he was sent; he doesn't even know why he is there for sure.

The letter did not reach the children. It was intercepted by Vernon.

With another letter in which she discussed the war, Jean enclosed a copy of the World Peace Appeal calling for outlawing of the atom bomb. She urged the children to sign it and ask others to sign. Again Vernon intercepted the letter.

ENTER THE LAW: As the time drew near for the children to return, Mrs. J. Walker Field wrote proposing that they remain in Oklahoma City for the school year; but when Jean telephoned, both said they wanted to come home. Then a letter came from Vernon repeating his mother's suggestion. Jean promptly phoned him and said the children would have to leave in a few days as school was to start in about a week. Vernon promised there would be no more delay; he would let her know exactly when to expect them.

That conversation took place Sept. 2. Five days later Jean received a registered letter from an Oklahoma City law firm, notifying her that Vernon had started legal proceedings to give him custody of the children on the ground that she was not a fit mother. With this was a court order instructing Jean that she was

> . . . hereby restrained from molesting, taking or removing Jay Walker Field or Mary Kaye Field . . . . from his [Vernon Field's] home, care and custody or from the jurisdiction of this Court until the further order of the Court herein, set for hearing at 9 a.m., Sept. 29, 1950.

"SEE THEM IN COURT": Shocked and alarmed, Jean tried to phone Vernon, was told his number was disconnected. Attempts to contact the grandparents were fruitless. A lawyer said her only recourse was to go to Oklahoma.

Jean drove the 1,500 miles; her arrival had been anticipated. The grandparents, she was told, were out of town. When she reached Vernon at his office he brusquely told her Jay and Mary Kaye had been taken out of the city by his parents—where, he would not say. "If you want to see them," he said, "you'll have to see them in court."

Jean filed a habeas corpus petition in the Oklahoma County District Court. The presiding judge ordered Vernon to produce Jay and Mary Kaye in court Sept. 29 and justify his holding them from their mother.

The date, hour, courtroom and judge designated for this hearing were the same as those previously specified for the custody hearing. Doubtless not unrelated to this was the fact that Vernon's father was an Asst. Atty. General in Oklahoma.

The way of a mother

Jay and Mary Kaye found their mother waiting for them at the courthouse; only then did they learn the circumstances under which they had been kept in Oklahoma. The previous evening Vernon had told them he was taking them to court to try to have their custody changed to him. Their mother was unfit to raise them, he had said, because of her views on the war and because she had taught them Negro and white people were equal.

Clinging to their mother, the children begged her to take them home. . . .

When presiding magistrate Clarence Mills ordered the custody and habeas corpus hearings consolidated, Jean's attorney asked an adjournment, with the provision that in the interim Jean be allowed to see her children. The judge granted this. After the proceedings Vernon told Jean that if she were wise she would drop the case and leave town quietly; otherwise, he and his father would see that things became "very rough" for her. Judge Mills, he added, was a friend of his father and had been so incensed when shown her letters about Korea that he himself had drafted the original motion for a change of custody.

THEIR NEW "HOME": "I'm warning you," said Vernon, "you haven't got a chance here." Jean replied:

> "I've never been a coward when I felt that right was at stake, and I believe that not only the rights of my children are at stake in this but the rights of all families and all parents everywhere. If you have any idea that I won't fight this case, then you don't know me very well."

Visiting her children at Vernon's that day, Jean found them crowded into a small 2-bedroom house with their father, his new wife and her three children by a former marriage. She later related:

> "It was extremely dirty, and not the disorder that comes at times in everyone's home. The curtains and windowshades were dirty and torn, the covering on the floor blotched; the woodwork and walls looked as if they hadn't been touched with a cleaner in years. Mary Kaye said, 'We very seldom have anything clean to wear,' and that Vernon's wife had done no washing or cleaning for weeks and usually stayed in bed until almost noon."

THREE ON A WING: Next day Jean took the children out for breakfast:

> "It was not a very happy breakfast. Tears were running down their faces as they repeatedly asked not to go back to 'that house.' They couldn't understand why we couldn't just go home. I tried to explain but how can one explain a situation so terribly wrong?"

When she picked up the children to take them for a drive the next afternoon, and asked them where they would like to go, they said they would like to keep on driving until they got home.

"All right, kids," Jean said. They drove on out of Oklahoma City immediately. Three days later they arrived home in Santa Monica, Calif.

THE CRIMINAL: On Oct. 20, in the absence of Jean and the children, Judge Mills heard Vernon's motion for custody. Evidence to show that Jean was an unfit mother consisted of her two letters about the war and the fact that she had left Oklahoma contrary to the court's order.

At the end of the hearing Judge Mills said that by removing the children from Oklahoma—"taking advantage of kindness" and "imposing upon the court"—she had shown that "she is not a fit and proper person to have the children." He ruled that custody of Jay and Mary Kaye should be forfeited to Vernon Field.

A warrant was issued for Jean's arrest on the charge of child-stealing.

(Continued next week)

FARM

Eastern FU convention strikes a militant note

By Lawrence Emery

TRENTON, N. J.

NEW JERSEY has just celebrated its annual Farmers Week; from Republican Gov. Alfred Driscoll came this warning:

"I strongly urge you to resist the allure of price-fixing. The law of supply and demand cannot be tampered with by government law or regulation. . . ."

But the Eastern Division of the Natl. Farmers Union, in its annual two-day convention (more than 100 delegates from 25 locals with 3,000 members), demanded full parity price supports for poultry, dairy and produce farmers, saw such supports not as an allure but as an economic and social necessity if the family farmer (and the consumer) is to survive the increasing trend to corporate farming. In its main program resolution, the convention again went on record for the Brannan Plan of production payments to farmers and reduced prices for consumers, declared that the need for it has "continued to increase," pledged to mobilize all support—farm and city—for its adoption.

THE SLIDING SCALE: Specifically, the convention recorded a decrease in parity for egg producers from 95% in December, 1950, to 83% in December 1951, found that the dairy farmer is receiving only two-thirds what he should for his milk, noted a corresponding deterioration in the position of the produce grower, planned a fight for improvement on all levels up to Congress.

The convention, which crammed five days of work into its two-day sessions (ignored by almost all the press), found the cause of the critical condition of U.S. agriculture in Washington's war program. Executive secy. Louis Slocum, commenting on the threat to peace, observed that

". . . obviously, in order to carry out any sort of program, one must be alive to do so."

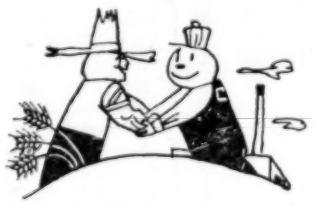
President Alvin Christman said:

"We may go on as we have been, arming, sending our boys to Korea to be slaughtered, taxing ourselves, crying that the Godless are at our gates; if we do, I think all mankind will be heavily punished., and eventually we go down the road of destruction."

Educational director Bertha Zoda stressed

". . . our needs as farmers, as citizens, and as members of the human race."

FREEDOM & PEACE: As citizens and humans, the delegates ranged over most issues affecting all Americans. Featured speakers included Abner Green, executive secy. of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born (Sol Hertz, leader of one of the Division's locals, is a McCarran Act deportation



target). John Tisa, vice-president of the Trenton-Camden region of the Distributive, Processing and Office Workers Union, reported that the Division has contributed funds to many a strike, has participated actively in two recent ones.

Edwin Randall, field director for the American Friends Service Committee, denounced universal military training. Dr. Milton J. Hoffman of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary and president of the N.J. Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, declared that all peace-loving Americans must "stand up and be counted [on UMT] no matter what the cost."

State Assemblyman Edward T. Bowser, who introduced in the N.J. Legislature a resolution memorializing Congress and the President to act against the Florida bomb-murder of Harry T. Moore and his wife, said that current violence is a desperate reaction against increasing militancy of the Negro people. Newton Husted, Texas-born leader of the Agricultural Workers Union, won an ovation for his presentation of demands for migrant workers, including a $100-a-month minimum wage which he illustrated thus: "To get into the Army, I needed two feet; that's minimum."

The convention later adopted a resolution pledging full support to organization of migrant farm labor and demanding full protection and guaranteed minimum conditions for Mexicans and Puerto Ricans brought in for seasonal work.

WHERE'S PATTON? Other resolutions called for development of the St. Lawrence seaway; establishment of valley authorities for the Missouri and Delaware basins; expansion of the Rural Electricity and Telephone Administrations (curtailed in Harry Truman's new budget); extensive improvement of rural roads; extension and expansion of farmer cooperatives; price floors and ceilings to curb inflation; stricter enforcement of anti-trust laws; expansion of federal aid for rural health, housing and education.

On civil liberties the convention called for repeal of the Smith and McCarran acts; on world affairs it demanded a cease-fire in Korea, UN recognition of the Chinese People's Republic, and a Big Five conference for peace.

For the third straight year NFU president James Patton failed to attend the Eastern Division's convention; from the floor this year came a resolution expressing disapointment at his continued absence. Slocum referred to the attempts of the union's national office to curb the peace efforts of many of the state organizations:

"We take our stand with the great mass of Farmers Union members, north, south, east and west, who wish to live in peace, who do not believe that more and more arms pave the road to peace, who pray for an end to the blood-soaked Korean adventure, who are of the opinion that negotiation now among all the major powers can still preserve the peace, and who think differing social systems can and must live side by side in peace if mankind is to survive."

FIGHT FOR NEGROES: The convention placed repeated stress on the need for full equality for Negroes, pledged full support to organization of the South which contains half the nation's family-sized farms. Three representatives of the Farmers Home Administration were confronted from the floor with several instances of refusal of credit to N.J. Negro farmers. State FHA director Chester Tyson assured the convention that FHA does not discriminate, pledged to investigate personally the cases cited.

Russell Meek, Negro leader of Harlem and president of the Farm-City Cooperative, Inc., reported on the work of his organization to develop and strengthen farmer-consumer unity, brought the convention to its feet with a passionate declaration of the Negro people's determination to win full equality.

Delegates to the convention expressed "shock and amazement" when they received an admission from NFU vice-pres. Herbert Rolph that Dallas, Tex., chosen for the union's March 9 national convention, is a jimcrow city where Negro delegates would be barred from participation. They unanimously adopted a resolution of protest, sent it to Patton with an urgent request to choose a new site.

LABOR

Heroic E-Z strikers win 15-month fight

FOR MORE than 15 months about 100 strikers and their families, backed by the 1,400-member Local 890, Mine, Mill & Smelter Workers, battled the Empire Zinc Co. at Bayard, N.M. (GUARDIAN, July 18, Dec. 12). They pitted the strength of their unity against: a giant corporation (Empire's parent company, N.J. Zinc, cleared more than $10,000,000 in 1950); a nation-wide wage freeze; two cold and hungry winters; a red-baiting raid by the CIO Steelworkers, aided by businessmen who cut off credit for strikers, granted it to scabs; wholesale police arrests; tear gas and gunfire; attacks

UNION vs. UNION
The steelworkers punch foul

by press and radio; local terror in which a hospital (owned by Kennecott mining interests) refused to treat injured pickets.

Last week the valiant band won.

Fifteen months ago the company refused to negotiate any contract. Last week they signed on the union's terms: a 24c-an-hour increase (an object lesson for CIO efforts to break the wage freeze); a sickness and accident insurance program providing $26 a week for 26 weeks; company-paid $2,500 life insurance plan; increased pension, vacation, lunch hour, holiday pay.

REHIRED, UNFROZEN: At a time when CIO members are stuck with five-year contracts in the midst of skyrocketing prices, the new E-Z agreement runs only to July 31, 1953, provides a wage reopener July 1, 1952. All strikers are rehired with full seniority and all other accrued rights.

The steel raiders were driven out of town; some of the shops that displayed placards denouncing the strikers were boycotted out of business. The plant superintendent who tried unsuccessfully to staff the place with scabs was transferred elsewhere.

Throughout the long strike the progressive unions, some United Mine Workers locals, the Independent Progressive Party of California and many individuals sent in food and clothes to the strikers. But labor's greatest strike victory since the war belonged to the 100 families of Mine-Mill at Bayard.

John L. speaks for miners 'not yet dead'

BEFORE DAWN last Saturday six men died in an explosion 300 feet below ground in a coal mine at Carpentertown, Pa. It was barely two months after the Christmastime blast at West Frankfort, Ill., where 119 miners died. The six dead in Carpentertown caused little notice in the press, like added casualty figures in a war's continuing toll.

Interior Secy. Chapman said federal inspectors three times last year warned the mine owners, Carpentertown Coal & Coke Co., Pennsylvania authorities and union officials of "serious hazards" in the mine that finally blew up.

DIGGING FOR TRUTH: In Washington United Mine Workers pres. John L. Lewis sat with the senators on the special subcommittee inquiring into mine safety. Walter Eadie, Ill. director of mines, as spokesman for Gov. Stevenson had testified that immediately before Orient No. 2 at West Frankfort blew up he thought the mine safe.

Lewis asked:

"If you think the mine was as safe as you obviously do, why did it blow up?"

Eadie: "I must have been mistaken."

Lewis: "Then it was unsafe."

Eadie: "It was unsafe when it blew up.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch

DANGEROUS GAS

From the standpoint of general Illinois mine practices it was not unsafe before."

Lewis: "One hundred and nineteen men died that night. The safety inspectors were on the trip and died with the miners. Don't you think they should have been in there before?"

Eadie: "In accordance with general Illinois mine practices. . . ."

Lewis (interrupting): "To hell with general Illinois mine practices! Don't you know that night shift should have been kept out of the mine?"

Eadie: "Yes."

Lewis: "Don't you think the explosion is an abominable record of negligence that the state of Illinois should not condone?"

Eadie: "If I look back I'll have to say yes."

Lewis: "I'm not asking you about yesterday. I'm wondering what Illinois profits by seeing 119 men cooked in that gas."

"YOU WILL PARDON ME": Here Sen. Wayne Morse (R-Ore.) protested that Lewis had taken over the hearing. Lewis' voice dropped as he said:

"My only justification is that a lot of men died. You will pardon me if my attitude is to prevent others from dying."

Eadie brought Stevenson's view on the pending Neely bill to give federal safety inspectors enforcement powers. The Governor would not oppose stiffer federal legislation, but noted sadly that it was another instance of surrender of states' rights.

Ed. D. Schorr, representing the Ohio Coal Assn., also agreed to federal controls but sought to weaken any such measure by appeals machinery. Lewis told him:

"If Congress accepts your proposal there will be no more safety in the mines than in the last 50 years. [In that period 73,906 miners have been killed in bituminous mines alone.] . . . I am speaking for the employes of this industry who are not yet dead."

LEGAL BARBARISM: When Lewis took the stand he not only backed the Neely Bill but spoke bitterly of the "abominable and barbaric" Taft-Hartley Law, under which UMW had been twice sued (for a total of $750,000) because miners had walked out of mines declared unsafe by federal inspectors.

Presidential candidate Taft, who though a subcommittee member had not participated in the hearing, appeared after Lewis' testimony to defend T-H. Acknowledging that unions could be freely sued under the act, Taft recalled a Harvard law professor's quip:

". . . You can sue the Bishop of Boston for bastardy, but proving it is something else again."

In West Frankfort, the Junior Chamber of Commerce offered free grave markers for the 119.

The deadly parallel

The following, from **The Nuremberg Case** by Supreme Court Justice Robert H. Jackson (A. A. Knopf, 1947), p. 188, is companion reading to the plans of the U.S. government to set up concentration camps. Prosecutor Jackson examines defendant Hermann Goering:

JACKSON: And protective custody meant you were taking people into custody who had not committed any crime but who you thought might possibly commit a crime?

GOERING: Yes. People were arrested and taken into protective custody who had committed no crime, but of whom one could expect that if they remained in freedom they would do all sorts of things to damage the German state.

THE BOSTON HERALD, JANUARY 26, 1952

Goering Aides Draft Plans For 1500-Plane NATO Force

CALIFORNIA

Witch-hunt victims win new support

IN THE WAKE of the open season declared by witch-hunters on lawyers, doctors, teachers and newspapermen in California, a resistance movement was growing that cut across political lines.

In Los Angeles a Citizens Committee to Preserve American Freedoms was formed by 40 religious, civic, labor and professional leaders. Dr. A. A. Heist, director of the S. California branch of the American Civil Liberties Union, is temporary chairman.

Three doctors of high repute, all active progressives, fired by the Cedars of Lebanon Hospital, got support from the influential conservative California **Jewish Voice**, published by Samuel Gach, and other American-Jewish newspapers. The **Voice** said:

> **If the unhappy hour comes when the Jewish community will have to tell Cedars that by its conduct it has divorced itself from the community, the recognition will have to take the form of withdrawing identification. We will have to turn to institutions that are answerable to the people. If we do not have them we will have to create them.**

A CLEAR DUTY: Sixteen lawyers ordered to appear before the House Un-American Activities Comm. on Feb. 18 issued a statement through their attorneys, Robert W. Kenny and Daniel G. Marshall, which made it clear the committee would get nothing except non-cooperation. The statement said:

> **We owe no accounting to this committee for our opinions, political beliefs, religious convictions, clientele or professional conduct, and we refuse to give such an accounting. . . . The committee is a menace to our freedom. It is not only our right as citizens, but our duty as lawyers to eliminate this committee from the scene.**

This sentiment was echoed at two large Los Angeles meetings: one at the First Unitarian Church on Jan. 27 to which Thomas Mann and Dr. Linus Pauling, noted physicist, sent greetings; the other at the Embassy Auditorium on Jan. 28, attended by 1,600 persons.

BRUNNER GETS HEARING: Last week two broken-hearted people publicly condemned the action of a new stoolpigeon. They were Noum and Annie Light, parents of Dr. Louise Light, who appeared before the Un-AAC two weeks ago to give testimony against progressives in Los Angeles.

In Washington the Supreme Court granted a hearing to Dr. Eugene M. Brunner, former California Tech scientist, convicted and sentenced to six months in jail for refusing to answer questions on his political affiliations. Dr. Brunner was held in contempt during the trial in August, 1950, of another scientist, Dr. Sidney Weinbaum. The 9th Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed the decision. The successful fight for a hearing was carried to the Supreme Court by William B. Esterman, one of the 16 defiant lawyers.

PUBLICATIONS

A SOLDIER REVIEWS

SPARTACUS

This past Sunday the "New York Times" reviewed my book, SPARTACUS. As has been the case with most of my books, the "New York Times" had almost nothing good to say about it. Today an anonymous Negro soldier reviews my book in a letter to me. He is anonymous not because his review is less important than that in the "New York Times"—quite to the contrary, I think his review is immensely more important—but because the use of his name would subject him to danger and reprisal. I salute his review and acknowledge it humbly and gratefully. I offer it to you to read because I want you to buy this book. I wrote this book to make a weapon in the fight for freedom. You can see that people are armed with it.

My friend, Mr. Fast:

I have been in the army nearly two years, and while being in the army I felt I would do everything in my power to get a better education, and one of my means in attempting to better my education, I turn to reading everything that I could get my hands on. I started off reading in the army a book called "Freedom Road" and as long as I live I will never forget that book for I have met people like Gideon Jackson time after time.

First I'd like to say why I like your book. You see I was born in————N. C. in 1932 and I know what it is to be poor. I remember days when I was hungry and cold but somehow we made it. I had to quit school in 1946 because my people couldn't afford to keep me in school. I began working and the jobs soon faded away and I ended up joining the army.

I said all of that to say this—your book Spartacus is and will always be a part of me because I not only enjoyed reading it but I learned more than I'll ever be able to tell. That's why I say Spartacus is the greatest book I have ever read. It really taught me something. It taught me that as long as there is life you have a chance. If we colored people and the white people would get together and do away with these big shot rich people, we would have a much better world. By the way, I'm a black man, nineteen years of age, and I found out right after writing, "My friend, Mr. Fast" that you are a white man. My bunk buddy told me and I was really surprised for I come up hating all white people because of the way they treated my family and others down south. But though I may never see you I'd like to be your friend for there has to be some kindness in your heart for writing that book. I just wish my mother and brother and all the colored and white people in the world could someday read that book they call Spartacus. For it teaches so much. I always knew a lot of things but I couldn't put my fingers on certain things. And now as I write I wonder if we can unite like the different races of slaves did. I know we can because we are daily seeing who's keeping us so far apart, the rich man. And when we do unite, David the Jew will smile and say, we didn't fail but we won after all. Old Spartacus and Varinia and all the slaves will moan and cry with rejoice because we finally did away with our enemy and are now living like one family.

I am now closing with the hope that Spartacus will be circulated all over the world, for a book like that is badly needed in this day and time.

An everlasting Admirer,
L———— J————

The price of SPARTACUS, cloth bound and in a dust wrapper, is $2.50. Use the coupon below. Send check, money order or cash. If sending cash, 50 cents in stamps may be enclosed along with the bills.

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PEACE

'Big 5 Pact' drive gets cracking

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT's birthday (Jan. 30) saw signature campaigns for big-power peace pact petitions move into high gear from coast to coast. Early reports from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois and the West spoke of the constructive disgust with the Korean war found almost everywhere. Resolutions backing the drive came from union locals all over the country.

New York's Greater N. Y. Council for Peace had a goal of 300,000 signatures by March 31 on "Dear Congressman" petitions circulated in English, Spanish and Italian. The American Peace Crusade had a preliminary list of scores of noted writers, lawyers, doctors, educators, ministers, labor and farm leaders in 32 states who have already signed its pact appeal. The Northern California Peace Council's conference in San Francisco to launch its drive brought 225 participants including a Calif. Fedn. of Teachers vice-pres. and a spokesman for the Society of Friends (Quakers). In the Northwest, petition circulators swarmed over Washington state on an initial drive for 20,000 names. The Progressive Party was active everywhere.

In Chicago, following a forum on German rearmament and peace at Hyde Park Baptist Church sponsored by the Illinois Committee for Peaceful Alternatives, ICA chairman Rev. W. T. Baird announced his organization would launch its own petition campaign calling for U.S. initiative in convening a five-power peace conference.

ST. JOSEPH DRAWS FIRE: The 4th District Committee for Peace at St. Joseph, Mich., was carrying on what seemed to be the most effective local peace drive in the U.S. Two weeks ago its continuous distribution in Lake Michigan shore communities of peace literature, including texts of recent positive sermons with the slogan "What is **your** church doing for peace?", drew a diatribe in the South Haven **Daily Tribune** which called it a "subversive attack on the American Legion and the VFW." Peace Committee secy. Axel H. Neilsen, father of an Air Force lieutenant in Korea—excerpts from whose letters are in the committee's peace bundle—wrote to the paper demanding truthful coverage.

The letter, which drew attention to the "Call to Prayer" peace campaign organized by Methodist Dr. Henry Hitt Crane of Detroit against what Dr. Crane calls "the madness of militarism," was not published and the paper refused it as a paid ad. The committee is now distributing the text throughout the area with the statement:

> America, wake up! The very basic right of Free Press is being taken from us without a struggle. Telephone the Tribune! Ask them WHY? Freedom is YOUR job!

UMT STEAMROLLER: Dozens of assorted organizations sought—and some obtained—a chance to voice opposition to Universal Military Training as the House Armed Services Committee hurried UMT hearings to conclusion in Washington. Conduct of the hearings revealed them as largely window-dressing; only far louder protests could prevent early Congressional endorsement.

A Natl. Education Assn. spokesman told the committee last week the majority of NEA members want UMT postponed or abandoned. A Methodist Church spokesman said no one is fooled by the "voluntary" plan, a mere "sugar-coat" for compulsory UMT. Meanwhile the Natl. Council of Churches of Christ, representing most U.S. Protestant groups, rejected UMT at a meeting in New York; Methodist Bishop G. Bromley Oxnam announced the unanimous opposition to UMT of 2,000 pastors in Ohio. The N.Y. Board of Rabbis denounced UMT as "an aggravated disruptive force in family life." In Wisconsin, Farmers Union leaders started a barrage of letters to their Congressmen declaring that they

> . . . want no part of this alien philosophy under any circumstances. The present situation is being used by some power-hungry militarists with the hope that Congress will be stampeded into enacting UMT in an atmosphere of hysteria.

THE HITLER ROAD: Brig. Gen. (retd.) Herbert C. Holdridge, at first denied by committee chairman Vinson (D-Ga.) the right to be heard against UMT "in principle," was finally allowed to read part of a long analysis and denunciation in behalf of the American Rally, a new group sponsoring Holdridge for the Presidency, He protested the acceptance "in principle" of UMT since "we know the people have already rejected it" and the "mission" of UMT is based on "fatalistic, negative, suicidal, fraudulent" assumptions:

> "Our Western Front, like our Eastern Front, has collapsed, and UMT can do nothing about this. . . . A new, and final, military maxim emerges: 'The more armament, the less security.' . . . Turn your attention toward positive alternatives, otherwise the U.S. will go the way of Babylon, Rome and Hitler Germany."

An analysis prepared by Holdridge of the forces wanting war and UMT—the "Invisible Government of the Money Power," the "illegitimate political extension of the Roman Catholic Church," and "the Pentagon with its insatiable thirst for power"—was barred by Vinson together with a final personal statement in which Holdridge had written:

> I learned at West Point that no one in the military service is required to obey any order which is clearly illegal. . . . The war in Korea [was] illegally launched by our Chief Executive. . . . Any American boy would be within his legal rights if he refused . . . to submit to UMT as a training cadre to support this unconstitutional war. . . . I call upon this committee, and upon Congress, to return to the Constitution. Unless it does, I see no solution for lawlessness in high places except for the people to reassert their own sovereignty. . . .

Holdridge's 9,000-word statement read to the committee was reported in one sentence in the N.Y. **Times.** Said Vinson: "I have heard no new arguments against the program."

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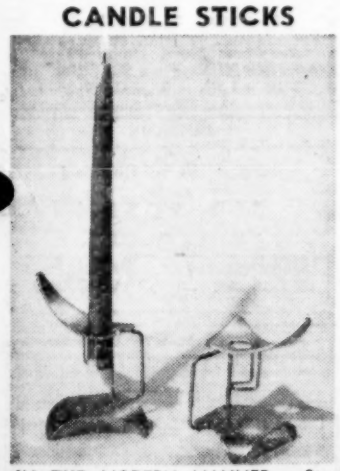

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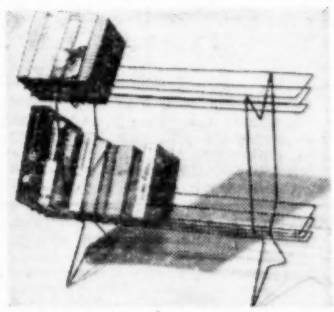

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BIG STEEL AND BIG HYSTERIA IN PITTSBURGH

Steve Nelson guilty in mock 'sedition' trial

By Elmer Bendiner

PITTSBURGH JUSTICE, as it came to a climax last week in the trial and conviction of Communist leader Steve Nelson, followed this pattern: a private organization, Americans Battling Communism, provided the original charges, paid the chief witness, provided its vice chairman as judge, a former chairman as the appeals judge. The jurors freely admitted prejudice against Communists. The defendant could find no counsel, though 80 lawyers were asked. Defense witnesses faced prosecution under the state's anti-communist law. In his charge to the jury the judge declared Nelson's defense witnesses (CP members) ought to be considered as "accomplices" and that freedom of speech and press guarantees did not apply to statements declared "seditious" under Pennsylvania law.

HOW IT BEGAN: The pattern might have been drawn in the early 20's when a young Pittsburgher named Michael A. Musmanno was taking his post-graduate legal training at Mussolini's University of Rome. On his return in 1926 Musmanno lauded Mussolini in the Pittsburgh **Press.** (In 1952 Musmanno had not changed: he declared the fascists were "patriotic young men" fighting communism.)

Late in 1950 Musmanno, then a district judge running for lieutenant governor, organized a police raid on Pittsburgh CP headquarters. As a private citizen, he charged Nelson, James Dolsen, W. Pennsylvania CP chairman and **Daily Worker** correspondent, and Andy Onda, CP organizer, with violating a 1919 "anti-sedition" statute.

Dolsen and Onda were tried and convicted last August by a jury which, the prosecutor admitted, had been screened by detectives. They now await another trial under the Smith Act. In mid-trial Nelson was badly injured in an auto accident and his case was separated.

STEVE NELSON
There were 13 jurors

Last December Nelson, once a colonel in the Lincoln Brigade with the Spanish Loyalists, prepared to defend himself. His injuries were so severe he had to clutch a court rail to keep from falling.

IT ALL LINKS UP: The judge was Harry M. Montgomery, vice-chairman of ABC, assigned to the case by Musmanno. An assistant prosecutor was William Cercone, Musmanno's nephew.

Behind Musmanno and the ABC was Big Steel. The 1919 statute had been engineered by steel corporations to break the Great Steel Strike.

Dist. Atty. James F. Malone, Cercone's boss, is also attorney for Westinghouse Electric and the Natl. Assn. of Manufacturers. Several of the final jurors admitted their jobs in the Steel City would be endangered if they voted for acquittal. Most of the panel said they were prejudiced against Communists but Montgomery excluded only those who said they were personally prejudiced against Nelson.

The city itself was in the grip of hysteria. Newspapers published lists of "communists." Steelworkers, teachers and musicians named on the lists lost their jobs. Homes were stoned and bombed. A well known Pennsylvania poet, covering the Dolsen-Onda trial, wrote under an assumed name in the **N. Y. Daily Compass:**

> I came here to witness the court proceedings for "sedition" against three Communists charged with "advocating overthrow of the government by force and violence." I am afraid the charges are misdirected. The government appears to have been overthrown here already.

TIME OF THE PIGEON: He said the city's boss was Richard King Mellon, "richest man in the state." The "royal hero" was Matt Cvetic, a well-paid informer who cited deliveries of food to striking Pennsylvania miners as evidence of a "Communist plot against the government." Cvetic was sponsored by ABC, his ABC pay vouchers were approved by Musmanno and Montgomery.

In the trial the prosecution wheeled in cartloads of Marxist literature seized in raids on bookshops. Cvetic, Musmanno and Paul Crouch, another veteran informer and strikebreaker, interpreted Marx, Lenin and Stalin. This is a sample:

> PROSECUTOR: What is the meaning of the word bourgeois?
> CROUCH: Bourgeois is a synonym for the American way of life. It stands for private property and belief in religion.

Pamphlets calling for peace in Korea were exhibited as the most damaging evidence of subversion.

COURAGE ON THE STAND: Nelson called only two witnesses—historian Herbert Aptheker and Benjamin Carreathers, Negro Communist leader and veteran steelworkers' organizer, also under indictment. In a city where CP membership had been declared criminal, Aptheker testified:

> "I am here because I am devoted to the principles of Marxism-Leninism. These are the principles of my party, the Communist Party. I hold these principles dearer than life. . . . In defending Steve Nelson I am defending the cause of peace, which is in the interest of the American people."

Carreathers, who recalled meeting Nelson on the hunger marches of the '30s, told the jury:

> "Steve Nelson never advocated force and violence. If I heard any Communist advocate force and violence I would bring him under charges and ask for his expulsion."

THE 13th JUROR: Last Thursday the jury, after deliberating 21 hours, brought in a verdict of guilty. There were 12 counts in the indictment. When the jury was polled Negro metal polisher Thomas L. Bixby sat silent when asked whether he found Nelson "guilty on all counts."

Nelson, addressing the jury, said:

> "This verdict was not given by 12 free and independent men and women. It was dictated by the 13th juror. . . . He is war hysteria and fear and the employer who controls the job of each juror."

He filed at once for appeal. The judge, "forced to follow precedent" as he explained, continued him in $10,000 bail. The appeals judge is Blair F. Gunther, former chairman of ABC. In the course of the trial Musmanno was elected to the state's supreme court bench.

On Monday Nelson was to be arraigned, along with Onda, Dolsen, Carreathers, William Albertson and Irving Weisman, under a new Smith Act indictment to stand trial all over again.

On Feb. 16 Steve Nelson will speak at a rally sponsored by the Committee to Defend the Lincoln Veterans, at 13 Astor Place, New York.

CALENDAR

Berkeley, Calif.

WHAT'S BEHIND THE NEWS? Hear Sidney Roger, commentator. Tuesdays, 8:15 p.m. Starting Jan. 8. Arts, Sciences & Prof., 3015 Shattuck Av., Berkeley. Donation: 50c.

Los Angeles

JAZZ AND THE NEGRO PEOPLE. Music. Discussion. Refresh. Folk dancing. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. The Folkways Guild, 5914 Barton Av. (nr. Sta. Monica & Gower). Admission Free. Collection.

"GRAND ILLUSION," directed by Renoir, with Eric Von Stroheim and Jean Gabin, and **"New Earth,"** plus speaker. Fri., Feb. 15, 8 p.m. Adm. 65c. First Unitarian Church, 2936 W. 8th St.

Detroit

Hear: **HERBERT APTHEKER, Historian, Lecturer,** speak on "What Is Genocide?" Celebration of Negro History Week. Sat., Feb. 9, 8 p.m. Jewish Cultural Center, 2705 Joy. Auspices: Michigan Worker.

New York

CELEBRATE WITH US. The West Side Neighbors for Peace are having a birthday party—their first. Have fun with us at the Metropolitan Music School, 18 W. 74th St. Sat., Feb. 9, 8:30 p.m. Sub.: $1.

St. Louis, Mo.

Special program devoted to **NEGRO HISTORY WEEK,** including discussion by Ulysses S. Donaldson on "Contributions of the Negro to Education in Missouri"; talk by Phyllis Smallwood on "Contribution of the Negro to American Dance"; and music by Neighborhood Folk Chorus. Sponsored by St. Louis ASP, 5841 DeGiverville. Sun., Feb. 10, 8:30 pm. Donation 50c.

Chicago

Hear the candidate for President of U.S.A. in 1952 on **PEACE PLATFORM** at American Rally for Brigadier General Herbert Holdridge (retired). Sun., Feb. 17, 3 p.m. Hamilton Hotel, 20 S. Dearborn. Everybody welcome.

FILM FORUM OF CHICAGO presents movies every Friday, 8:15 p.m. at People's Auditorium, 2457 W. Chicago. Features for Feb. 15: **LAD FROM OUR TOWN** (U.S.S.R.) plus new documentary short.

Newark, N. J.

VITO MARCANTONIO & VINCENT HALLINAN speak on Fri., Feb. 15, 8:15 p.m., at Hotel Essex House, Newark, to help launch N. J. Prog. Party's Get On the Ballot Campaign. Admission 60c.

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